

南部吴语鱼韵的层次及演变

孙宜志

杭州师范大学

提要


南部吴语鱼韵今读的层次有学者在相关研究中已经涉及，例如梅祖麟（2001）、陈忠敏（2013）。本文在前人研究的基础上对南部吴语鱼韵的层次进行进一步的研究，认为南部吴语鱼韵今读有八个层次，分别为：层次I：鱼麻合韵。层次II：鱼韵独立。层次III：鱼侯合韵。层次IV和层次V都是鱼支合韵。层次V是层次IV个别字脱落介音的结果。层次VI是鱼与支脂之微合韵。层次VII是层次VI的高化。层次VIII：鱼虞合韵。层次I是西汉层次，层次II、层次III是六朝（魏晋南北朝）层次，层次IV和层次V都是六朝时期鱼韵发生音变的结果。层次VI和层次VII是六朝以后的层次。层次VIII是晚唐五代（五代十国）层次。论文还讨论了辨析同源层次和异源层次的方法，认为层次I、层次II、层次III、层次IV、层次V、层次VI和层次VII都是南部吴语在自身发展中因词汇扩散而形成的同源层次，层次VIII是异源层次。论文还构拟了同源层次的发展过程。

关键词

南部吴语 鱼韵 语音层次 语音演变

致谢 感谢匿名审稿专家细致认真的审阅。本文修改吸纳了审稿专家的意见。感谢秋谷裕幸先生邮寄来发表的相关论文和《浙南七县市吴方言音系（讨论稿）》。感谢编辑老师专业严谨的审稿和中肯的指正意见。本研究获得2014年中国国家社科基金“南部吴语的语音层次及演变研究”（14BYY036）的资助。特此致谢。

作者声明本文是作者在前人调查和研究的基础上独立进行研究而撰写的论文。前人的贡献在论文中已经注明，本文在利益上与前人不存在冲突。本文未在其余的出版物上刊登。

孙宜志 (Sun Yizhi) [20110016@hznz.edu.cn]; 中国浙江省杭州市, 杭州师范大学人文学院, 余杭区仓前街道余杭塘路2318号, 邮编311121  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4511-5242>

- Cengci yu Fangyan Yanjiu* 历史层次与方言研究, (Chinese dialects and historical strata), ed. Ting Pang-Hsin 丁邦新, 194-203. Shanghai 上海:Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe 上海教育出版社.
- WANG, Futang 王福堂. 2003. Hanyu fangyan yuyin zhong de cengci 汉语方言语音中的层次 (The phonological strata in Chinese dialects). In *Yuyanxue Luncong* 语言学论丛 vol.27, 1-10. Beijing 北京: Shangwu Yinshuguan 商务印书馆.
- WANG, Li 王力. 2008. *Hanyu Yuyinshi* 汉语语音史 (The history of Chinese language sound). Beijing 北京: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社.
- YOU, Rujie 游汝杰. 2012. Xu 序 (Preface). In *Minyu de Lishi Cengci jiqi Yanbian* 闽语的历史层次及其演变 (The historic strata and changes of Min dialects), by Dai Ligang 戴黎刚. Beijing 北京: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社.
- ZHENGZHANG, Shangfang 郑张尚芳. 2008. *Wenzhou Fangyanzhi* 温州方言志 (Gazetteer of Wenzhou dialect). Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局.

ON THE STRATA AND DEVELOPMENT OF *YU* 鱼 RHYME
CATEGORY IN SOUTHERN WU DIALECTS

Sun Yizhi

Hangzhou Normal University

ABSTRACT

There are scholars who have already done some research on the sound strata of *Yu* 鱼 rhyme in Southern Wu dialects such as Mei Zulin (2001) and Chen Zhongmin (2013). Accordingly, this article presents a further research, which has found eight sound strata of *Yu* 鱼 rhyme in Southern Wu dialects. Layer I merges into the *Yu* 鱼 and *Ma* 麻 rhymes. Layer II is that *Yu* 鱼 rhyme stands alone. Layer III merges into the *Yu* 鱼 and *Hou* 侯 rhymes. Layer IV and V are both *Yu* 鱼 and *Zhi* 支 rhymes, sharing the same pronunciation. Layer V is the result of some dropping medials from Layer IV. Layer VI includes the *Yu* 鱼 *Zhi* 支 *Zhi* 脂 *Zhi* 之 and *Wei* 微 rhymes. Layer VI with high vowels becomes layer VII.

Layer VIII consists of *Yu* 鱼 and *Yu* 虞 rhymes. Layer I originated in Western Han Dynasty, layers II, III, IV, V, VI and VII resulted from changes of *Yu* 鱼 rhyme in Six Dynasties (Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao), and layer VIII is from the late Tang period to Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (Wu Dai Shi Guo) period. The article also discusses the ways to distinguish between the cognate stratum and the heterogeneous stratum. Layers I, II, III, IV, V, VI and VII are all cognate strata from lexical diffusion of the evolution in Southern Wu dialects while layer VIII is a heterogeneous stratum. Meanwhile, this article has reconstructed the process of cognate strata change.

KEYWORDS

Southern Wu dialects *Yu* 鱼 rhyme Sound strata Sound changes

The Chinese University Press : Copyrighted Materials